

# Integration of foreigners in Egypt: the relief of Amenhotep II shooting arrows at a copper ingot and related scenes

## Abstract

The relief of Amenhotep II shooting arrows at a copper ingot target has often been considered as propaganda of the king's extraordinary strength and vigour. However, this work proposes that the scene took on additional layers of significance and had different ritual functions such as regenerating the health of the king and ensuring the eternal victory of Egypt over foreign enemies and the victory of order over chaos. Amenhotep II was shooting arrows at an "Asiatic" ox-hide ingot because the ingot would symbolize the northern enemies of Egypt. The scene belonged to a group of representations carved during the New Kingdom on tombs and temples that showed the general image of the king defeating enemies. Moreover, it was linked to scenes painted in private tombs where goods were brought to the deceased, and to offering scenes carved on the walls of Theban temples. The full sequence of scenes would describe, and ritually promote, the process of integration of the foreign element into the Egyptian sphere.

**Keywords:** Amenhotep II stela, ox-hide ingot, scenes of goods brought to the deceased, offering scenes

## 1. Introduction

In New Kingdom Egypt, different representations of the king defeating Egypt's enemies and emphasising his role as military commander were depicted in tombs and on temple walls. The representations aimed to glorify the ruler by showing his superhuman

powers and to highlight the divine character of the king's authority while supporting the Egyptian imperialist policy of conquest during the New Kingdom<sup>1</sup>. The scenes, carved in tombs and on temple walls, had an apotropaic function, i.e. a protective function against foreigners opposing the king and, by extension, opposing Egypt. Actually, the scenes depicted the triumph of order (represented by the king) over chaos (represented by the foreign enemies, the 'others').

The king kept chaos out of Egypt by conquering, and scenes of the king smiting his enemies served as icons of legitimate violence against Egypt's enemies<sup>2</sup>. The victory of the king over Egypt's enemies was represented through different images, such as (1) The king smiting his enemies, an image that appeared in the Naqada II period and was carved on the walls of Egyptian temples until the Graeco-Roman period. In the depiction, the king wielded a mace in his raised right hand and seized the hair of the enemies with his other hand<sup>3</sup>; (2) The king as a sphinx defeating foes; (3) The king supervising the counting of captured enemies; (4) Rows of enemies brought by commanders to the presence of the king or brought by the king to the presence of a god. The adoption of the chariot warfare technology at the start of the New Kingdom probably boosted variations of the scenes representing the victory of the king, which were later repeated during the entire New Kingdom<sup>4</sup>. In such scenes, the king on a chariot was shooting arrows either at a group of foreign enemies, a foreign city, animals in hunting scenes or, as in the Amenhotep II stela, at a copper ingot target. As the other scenes representing the victory of the king over the

---

<sup>1</sup> Śliwa, "Some Remarks concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art," 97-117. Cornelius, "Ancient Egypt and the Other," 326-330.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius, "Ancient Egypt and the Other," 326.

<sup>3</sup> Cornelius, "Ancient Egypt and the Other," 326.

<sup>4</sup> Spalinger, "Egyptian New Kingdom triumphs: a first blush," 95-112. Swan Hall, *The pharaoh smites his enemies: a comparative study*, 1-55.

enemies, the chariot scenes aimed to emphasise the military or athletic skills of the king and the victory of order over chaos<sup>5</sup>.

The main objective of this work is to propose that scenes where the king shoots arrows at copper ingots also incorporate the element of the king's victory over Egypt's enemies and are intimately linked to the concept of Egyptian kingship during the New Kingdom.

## **2. The target on the Amenhotep II stela: the foreign element**

The aim of this work is to interpret the scene carved on a red granite stela that was found inside the third pylon of the Karnak temple<sup>6</sup> and showed Amenhotep II on a chariot shooting arrows at a target (Fig. I). In the relief, the target was a copper ingot nowadays known as ox-hide ingot due to its shape. The Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II described the targeted ingots and hinted at their foreign provenance: "*he [Amenhotep II] found erected for him four targets of Asiatic copper, of one palm in thickness*"<sup>7</sup>. The Great Sphinx Stela also described how the king was able to pierce the ingots with arrows shot from his bow while standing on a galloping chariot<sup>8</sup>. The scene was interpreted as an expression of the strength and athletic capabilities of Amenhotep II<sup>9</sup>.

### FIG. I.

In the last forty years, the actual geographical provenance of ox-hide ingots has been the object of several studies based on the determination of the lead content of ox-

---

<sup>5</sup> Sacco, "Art and imperial ideology: remarks on the depiction of royal chariots on wall reliefs in New-Kingdom Egypt and the neo-Assyrian empire", 212.

<sup>6</sup> Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (novembre 1926 – mai 1927)," 142. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1927-1928)," 126.

<sup>7</sup> Varille, "La grande stèle d'Aménophis II à Giza," 35. Tildesley, *Egyptian games and sports*, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Varille, "La grande stèle d'Aménophis II à Giza," 35.

<sup>9</sup> Van de Walle, "Les rois sportifs de l'ancienne Égypte," 234-257.

hide ingots found in different sites around the Mediterranean<sup>10</sup> and, in particular, in shipwrecks off the coasts of south Anatolia and Israel<sup>11</sup>. The analysis of the chemical and lead isotopic composition of the only single fragment of an ox-hide ingot found in Egypt (in Qantir Pi-Ramesses) established that it was made with copper from the Apliki mines in central Cyprus<sup>12</sup>.

The chemical analysis of ox-hide ingots found outside Egypt confirmed that the ox-hide ingots traded in the Mediterranean during the New Kingdom came mainly from Cyprus<sup>13</sup>, although the Lavrion mines near Athens could be the source of some ox-hide ingots of the XV-XIII centuries BC<sup>14</sup>. Some fragments of ox-hide ingots found in shipwrecks (XIIIth century BC) did not proceed from Cyprus and are believed to be a part of a minor trade that did not involve the governments. In spite of the Cypriot (or Greek) origin of the copper used for fabricating the ingots and the place of manufacture, Syrian merchants could have monopolised their trade<sup>15</sup> and ingots could arrive to Egypt also with diplomatic or prestige purposes.

Ox-hide ingots were depicted in Egyptian tombs and temples during most of the New Kingdom. The first depiction in Egypt was found on the walls of the TT119 tomb (of an unknown official who lived during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III). The last representations dated back to the reign of Ramses III. Two of them were carved

---

<sup>10</sup> Stos-Gale, "Isotope archaeology: reading the past in metals, minerals, and bone," 82. Gale and Stos-Gale, "Bronze Age copper sources in the Mediterranean: a new approach," 11-15. Stos-Gale, Maliotis, Gale and Annetts, "Lead isotope characteristics of the Cyprus copper ore deposits applied to provenance studies of copper oxhide ingots," 83-89.

<sup>11</sup> Stos, "Across the wine dark seas... sailor tinkers and royal cargoes in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean," 163-170. Galili, Gale and Rosen, "A Late Bronze Age Shipwreck with a Metal Cargo from Hishuley Carmel, Israel," 2.

<sup>12</sup> Pusch, "High temperature industries in the Late Bronze Age capital of Piramesse (Qantir): II. A quasi-industrial bronze factory, installations, tools and artifacts," 121-132.

<sup>13</sup> Stos-Gale, Maliotis, Gale and Annetts, "Lead isotope characteristics of the Cyprus copper ore deposits applied to provenance studies of copper oxhide ingots," 83-87.

<sup>14</sup> Stos, "Across the wine dark seas... sailor tinkers and royal cargoes in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean," fig. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Merrillees "Egypt and the Aegean," 149-158. Rehak "Aegean natives in the Theban tomb paintings: The Keftiu revisited." 39-51.

on the walls of his funerary temple at Medinet Habu<sup>16</sup>, and a third one was painted on the walls of his tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV11)<sup>17</sup>.

The features and dresses of the bearers of ox-hide ingots, together with the texts accompanying the depictions in private tombs, reflect the provenance of the ingots from the Egyptian point of view. The images convey three different sources, which coincide with those determined by modern techniques: Greece, Cyprus and Syria. For example, in the tomb of Useramun (TT131), the text accompanying a scene where goods containing ox-hide ingots are offered to Useramun reads, “*Reception of the booty that His Majesty brought from the Northern countries, from the confines of Asia, and from the islands amidst the sea*”. In one register in the Rekhmire tomb (TT100), men carrying ox-hide ingots were “*the chiefs of the land of Keftiu (and) the islands that are in the Great Sea*”, and in another register “*the chiefs of Retenu and of the furthest Asia*”. On another wall of the Rekhmire tomb, a text accompanied a depiction of metallurgical work done with the “*Asiatic copper that the King [Thutmose III] obtained after His victory in the land of Retenu in order to build the two doors of the Amun Temple in Karnak*”. In addition, other Egyptian texts carved on temples listed huge numbers of copper ingots coming from Alashiya (Ramses II) or brought by the king as booty from Retenu (Thutmose III)<sup>18</sup>.

Several studies deal with the meanings and functions of the so-called scenes of daily life in private tombs, which were usually interpreted in terms of rebirth of the deceased<sup>19</sup>. Most representations of ox-hide ingots in Egyptian tombs are part of the scenes where goods are brought to the deceased, painted on the walls of some Theban

---

<sup>16</sup> Bass, Throckmorton, Taylor, Hennessy, Shulman and Buckholz, “Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age shipwreck,” 67.

<sup>17</sup> Theban Mapping Project, [http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse\\_tomb\\_825.html](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tomb_825.html)

<sup>18</sup> Graziadio “The oxhide ingots production in the Eastern Mediterranean,” 18-25.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, L. Manniche, “The so-called scenes of daily life in the private tombs of the eighteenth dynasty: an overview”.

and Amarna tombs depicting either rows of foreign bearers carrying exotic products or products already stored in official storehouses. In some of these scenes, ox-hide ingots were included as exotic materials.

There is still a debate on the meaning of the scenes representing the arrival to Egypt of foreign goods depicted in some Theban tombs. Foreign goods in the tombs could represent tribute, trade goods, personal gifts or special deliveries. Actually, the term “tribute scenes” is being reconsidered and should be replaced by a more descriptive term such as “foreign people bringing *jnw* to Egypt”<sup>20</sup>, because *jnw* should be translated by “something brought”<sup>21</sup>. These products, coming from independent regions that did not pay tribute to Egypt<sup>22</sup>, would be trading goods instead of tribute items given to the Egyptian king<sup>23</sup>, although the scenes are silent about the goods that Egypt gave in exchange. Redford proposed that there is not a single modern term covering the goods depicted in the tombs.

The different meanings of the foreign products depicted in the tombs and temples do not affect the main proposal of this article, because the essential point is that for Egyptians the products were from abroad. The same has to be said in relation to the actual provenance of the figures bringing the goods, there was also a debate on the ethnic characteristics of some of these figures, in particular, if the Keftiu represented Minoans, Mycenaean, Asians or hybrid figures<sup>24</sup>. However, considering the discourse of the present

---

<sup>20</sup> Hallmann, *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament*.

<sup>21</sup> Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*.

<sup>22</sup> Liverani, *Prestige and interest: international relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.*

<sup>23</sup> Hallmann, *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament*.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Vercoutter *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes*. Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, Panagiotopoulos “Keftiu in Context: Theban Tomb Paintings as a Historical Source”, Vandersleyen, “Keftiou = Crete? Objections préliminaires” and Vandersleyen, “Keftiu: A Cautionary Note”.

article, the main point of figures with foreign goods is that they were indeed foreigners from the point of view of the Egyptians.

A critical aspect of such scenes is the omnipresence of order, regardless of the nationality of the bearers and the actual provenance of the ingots. The rows of bearers are perfectly tidy and the stored materials are meticulously arranged and classified. The most important aspect would be neither the country of origin of the bearers and materials nor the size and shape of products, but rather the order achieved after the king's vigorous action. The long rows and the arranged materials would therefore represent the result of the final victory of order over chaos, with the foreign element at last arranged. The rows of bearers with ox-hide ingots depicted in Egyptian tombs remind the rows of bearers with ox-hide ingots represented in some Cypriot objects. In these objects, the bearers are participating in religious ceremonies while the ox-hide ingots are interpreted either as offerings to a high rank character or as votive offerings to deities<sup>25</sup>. Therefore, the scenes representing the foreign elements brought to the deceased<sup>26</sup> would show the foreign element already arranged and have the function of maintaining the arrangement. Thus, the function of such scenes was not only to show or provide the desired afterlife for the deceased, but also to achieve the desired level of order to protect the deceased from chaos in the afterlife. In this sense, it is interesting to cite the depiction of a young Amenhotep (future Amenhotep II) being taught archery by Min of Thinis (Min's tomb in Thebes, TT109)<sup>27</sup>. In the scene, Amenhotep, guided by Min, shoots arrows with his bow at a rectangular target<sup>28</sup>. Although the scene was interpreted as the proudest moment of Min's life<sup>29</sup>, it is plausible that Min also

---

<sup>25</sup> Pappasavvas, "The iconography of oxhide ingots," 85-89. In the same paper, the author later writes "the ritual character (...) is completely absent from the Egyptian paintings, despite the fact that the latter also record ceremonial events", 110.

<sup>26</sup> There is only a single depiction in a non-private tomb, in the Ramses III tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.min-project.com/en-gb/thetomb.aspx>

<sup>28</sup> Tildesley, *Egyptian games and sports*, 37-38.

<sup>29</sup> Wilkinson, *The rise and fall of ancient Egypt*, 256

wanted to depict the king's mythic actions to show him as a guarantor of order. In addition, it might be significant that, as a boy, Amenhotep II is shooting at a plain rectangular target whereas, as king of Egypt, he is shooting at a target made of a harder substance that is a symbol of foreign enemies.

In spite of the understandable doubts of ancient Egyptians about the actual geographical origin of the ingots, what is certain is that Egyptians were aware that the sources of ox-hide ingots were beyond the Egyptian border.

### **3. A new interpretation of the scenes with ox-hide ingots: layers of significance and ritual functions**

Considering its foreign origin, the ox-hide ingot carved on the Amenhotep II stela could represent the otherness, the foreign object or character defeated by the king. The only variation from former representations of the king's victory would be the nature of the foreign element: human enemies in the scene where the king is shooting arrows and an ox-hide ingot in the Amenhotep II stela. In addition to accentuating the king's athletic attributes, the ox-hide ingot helped convey the victory of Egypt over its foreign enemies. The arrows piercing the ingot represented the Egyptian victory, like the arrows piercing the human enemies represented the enemies killed.

Therefore, the scene did not only have a layer of significance related to the king's athletic skills but it would also show the victory of Egypt over its enemies and, by extension, the victory of order (Egypt) over chaos (foreigners). The setting of this scene, a sacred place such as the Karnak temple, would indicate that it also has different mythological functions related to its layers of significance: (1) a regenerative function of



the physical capability of Amenhotep II, allowing him to have *ad aeternum* the necessary strength to deal with Egypt's enemies, (2) an apotropaic function, making eternal the victory of the king over the enemies of Egypt and ensuring the supremacy of order over chaos. Hence, the scene showing Amenhotep II shooting arrows at an ox-hide ingot target proves to be an improvement over earlier scenes of victory, because the significance and function of the image were extended, including the aims to eternally invigorate the king and eternally maintain the supremacy of order over chaos.

The interpretation of the Amenhotep II stela proposed in this work is based on the fact that, for ancient Egyptians, the main characteristic of the ingot was its foreign origin. Later scenes depicting the king shooting arrows at Egypt's enemies corroborate the importance of the foreign nature of the ingot for ancient Egyptians. One such scene was carved on one of the objects from king Ay's tomb that were deposited inside the KV58 tomb in the Valley of the Kings. A gold foil fragment that could have decorated a quiver<sup>30</sup> showed king Ay riding on a chariot and shooting arrows at an ox-hide ingot standing on a pole. Four arrows pierced the ingot (see Fig. II)<sup>31</sup>.

#### FIG. II.

Although the scene is very similar to the Amenhotep II stela scene, a new iconographic element is present in the Ay gold foil fragment: two Asiatic captives tied to the pole (and two more kneeling in front of the king). The connection of the Asiatic foes with the ox-hide ingot emphasises the function of the ingot as a representative or symbol of the foreign element, indisputably linking the ingot to the Asian element.

---

<sup>30</sup> Sabbahy, "Depictional study of chariot use in New Kingdom Egypt," 191-192.

<sup>31</sup> Tildesley, *Egyptian games and sports*, 38.

As in the Amenhotep II stela, the Ay scene was carved in order to induce the eternal victory of the king over Egypt's enemies and to proclaim his physical characteristics. This second function is particularly important in this case, because the "historicity" of the Ay scene is highly questionable considering the king's age upon his succession to the throne and his actual ability to ride on a chariot and pierce a copper ingot with his arrows. This would corroborate the role of the image as a regenerator of good athletic abilities (which king Ay probably lacked).

A similar scene was found carved on a seal excavated in the Ramses III temple of Beth Shean (Israel). The seal showed Ramses II standing and shooting at a target pierced by three arrows (Fig. III)<sup>32</sup>. As in the Ay gold foil fragment, the presence of two foes on the base of the target reinforced the role of the ingot as a symbol of foreigners and the role of the scene in inducing the victory of the athletic king over the foreign enemy (and the victory of order over chaos). An important development of the scene was the presence of a god at its right end. The fact that the king's victory was taking place in the presence of a god reinforced the ritual essence of the image.

### FIG. III.

One could think that the target on the Beth Shean seal is not an ingot but an oxhide shaped banner. Later representations with the same components (a king shooting arrows, an object pierced by those arrows and an enemy) might have the same meanings and functions. Whether an ingot or a banner, the object kept its foreign essence. In this sense, an interesting example is the scene of the siege of Dapur on the Ramesseum walls (Fig. IV). At the left of the scene, Ramses II is on a chariot shooting arrows at the city of

---

<sup>32</sup> Mussell, "The cylinder seals of Late Bronze Age Palestine as indicators of Hurrian influence," Plate 12. A brief comparison of the scene on the seal and the Amenhotep II stela is cited in an on-line blog: <http://monteprama.blogspot.com.es/2013/10/pharaoh-piercing-oxhide-ingots-with.html?m=1>

Dapur at the right end over which a banner pierced by three arrows is displayed. Although the banner does not have the ox-hide shape, the Dapur scene shows the three elements that characterise the Amenhotep II, Ay and Ramses II scenes, i.e. the king shooting arrows, the foreign object pierced by those arrows, and the foreign enemy under the pierced object. In the scene of the siege of Dapur, the foreign element pierced by arrows loses the ox-hide shape but preserves its main characteristics as the symbol of foreignness and defeat, meaning that the foreign city of Dapur was (eternally) conquered.

FIG. IV.

Once again, the image reinforced the king's strength and vigour and the defeated foreign element, represented by an ingot/banner. The scene was carved on the interior walls of the funerary temple of Ramses II. Its placement inside a temple, a sacred place that represents the Egyptian country, conveyed its mythological functions: (1) invigorating the king, (2) defeating the foreign enemy, and (3) ordering chaos. A similar scene is found on the south wall of the first court of the Medinet Habu temple, with the banner above a fortress full of enemies in Amor that is being conquered by Ramses III. In this scene, two arrows shot by the king pierce the pole of the banner (Fig. V)<sup>33</sup>.

FIG. V

Although this work proposes that the scenes of the king's victory here presented have the function of ensuring the victory of order over chaos *ad infinitum*, other depictions could reflect the situation of the foreign element defeated after the confrontation with the king. These are non-military scenes in Theban temples.

In the catalogue of Egyptian scenes that incorporate ox-hide ingots, there are three scenes carved on the walls of the Karnak and Medinet Habu temples that seem to convey

---

<sup>33</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *Later historical records of Ramses III. Medinet Habu vol. II*. Plates 94 and 95.

the final destination of the foreign element. In such scenes, the kings (Thutmosis III in the Karnak temple and Ramses III in the Medinet Habu temple, in two scenes) make offerings to Amun-Re. These scenes should be included in the kind of scenes where the king is offering goods to all the gods of Egypt, representing the daily offering made by the king or by priests to the gods. Among them, there are rows of carefully stacked ox-hide ingots (see FIG. VI)<sup>34</sup>. The main meaning of these scenes would be related to the admission of the ordered foreign element in the divine sphere, that is, in Egypt, an admission that was only possible after the defeat of the foreign element by the king<sup>35</sup>. When Amun-Re, representing the deepest essence of Egypt, accepted the king's arranged offerings, he was also accepting the incorporation of the foreign element in Egypt after an adaptation process<sup>36</sup>.

#### FIG. VI

From some scenes in tombs and temples<sup>37</sup>, it is therefore possible to propose a path followed by the foreign element after its contact with Egypt, a kind of *cursus honorum* that foreigners could follow before their integration in Egypt (see Fig. VII). In a first step, the king would defeat/tame the foreign element. The depictions of the king on a chariot shooting arrows at enemies, animals, cities or ingots would represent this step. The defeat of foreign enemies had the ritual function of ensuring the supremacy of order

---

<sup>34</sup> Although in the Thutmosis III relief there is just a single ingot.

<sup>35</sup> In other words, after the taming of the foreign elements by the king. In this sense, the 'hunting scenes' depicted in different private or royal sacred scenarios would also act as the scenes mentioned in this work: (1) regenerating the strength of the character, and (2) ensuring the victory of order over chaos. The scene of Amenhotep II grabbing the tail of a lion could also be included in this kind of scenes (Desroches-Noblecourt, "Un petit monument commémoratif du roi athlète").

<sup>36</sup> Another possibility (see the "Acknowledgments" section) is that ox-hide ingots were offered to Amun as a representation of a marvel coming from unconquered lands, which would explain the presence of the ingots along with materials from Punt.

<sup>37</sup> There is no place where all the scenes described here are present together. Actually, only in few places there is more than one representation of ox-hide ingots (for example, in the Rekhmire tomb and in the Medinet Habu temple). For this reason, it is important to bear in mind that the series of representations described in this work consists on images depicted in different tombs, temples and small objects.

(Egypt) over chaos. In a second step, the foreign element would have been already defeated and lost its chaotic nature. The representation of this step would be based on emphasising the organisation of the elements in scenes where foreign goods were brought and in scenes where the offered products were already stocked. Finally, in a third step, the foreign element, already with an ordered nature, would be integrated in Egypt. This concept would be represented through depictions of the daily offerings made by the king to the gods, who would accept the tamed foreign element. The placement of this series of representations in sacred places, such as tombs and temples, conveyed their ritual and apotropaic functions, probably not only of perpetuating the victory of the athletic king over Egypt's enemies but also of allowing the integration of the secular foreign element in Egypt<sup>38</sup> after the adoption of Egyptian customs<sup>39</sup>. The presence of ox-hide ingots as goods brought to Egypt and their donation to Amun-Re, reflect and acknowledge the pharaoh's great power.

FIG. VII.

#### 4. Conclusions

The scene of Amenhotep II shooting arrows at an ox-hide copper ingot contained several layers of significance: (1) it highlighted the king's strength and vigour, (2) it highlighted the victory of Egypt over the foreign element, and (3) it represented the eternal victory of order over chaos. These layers of significance were linked to the ritual functions of the scene and of other similar scenes depicted in sacred places: (1) regenerating the king's physical capabilities, (2) protecting Egypt, and (3) ensuring the

---

<sup>38</sup> The *axis mundi*, according to the Egyptian perception.

<sup>39</sup> Cornelius, "Ancient Egypt and the Other," 334. The offering of other foreign objects or materials to the god could have the same significance and integrating function, together with the submission aspect previously established for these scenes.

victory of order over chaos. Therefore, the scene could be described with Mme. Desroches-Noblecourt's words about other scenes of the king defeating Egypt's enemies: *“est consacré à la destruction des ennemis de l'Égypte et à la glorification du souverain occupé, du haut de son char, à transpercer de ses flèches ceux qui nuisent à l'Égypte éternelle”*<sup>40</sup>.

This work proposes that the Amenhotep II stela could belong to a sequence of images describing the path followed by the foreign element after its contact with Egypt, which would consist of three consecutive steps: (1) defeat, (2) orderly arrangement, and (3) offering to the gods. The last step would allow the final integration of the secular foreign element in Egypt.

The scenes, where the king and, by extension, the Egyptian kingship, was the predominant character, reflected his role during the New Kingdom as the vigorous defender of Egyptian order and the guarantor of the adequacy of the process of integration of the foreign element in the Egyptian sphere.

### **Acknowledgments**

The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments which led him to consider an additional meaning of the scene in Min's tomb (TT109) and the possibility that the Egyptians regarded the ox-hide ingot as a marvel from a land beyond Egypt's sphere of control.

---

<sup>40</sup> Desroches-Noblecourt, "Un petit monument commémoratif du roi athlète", 43.

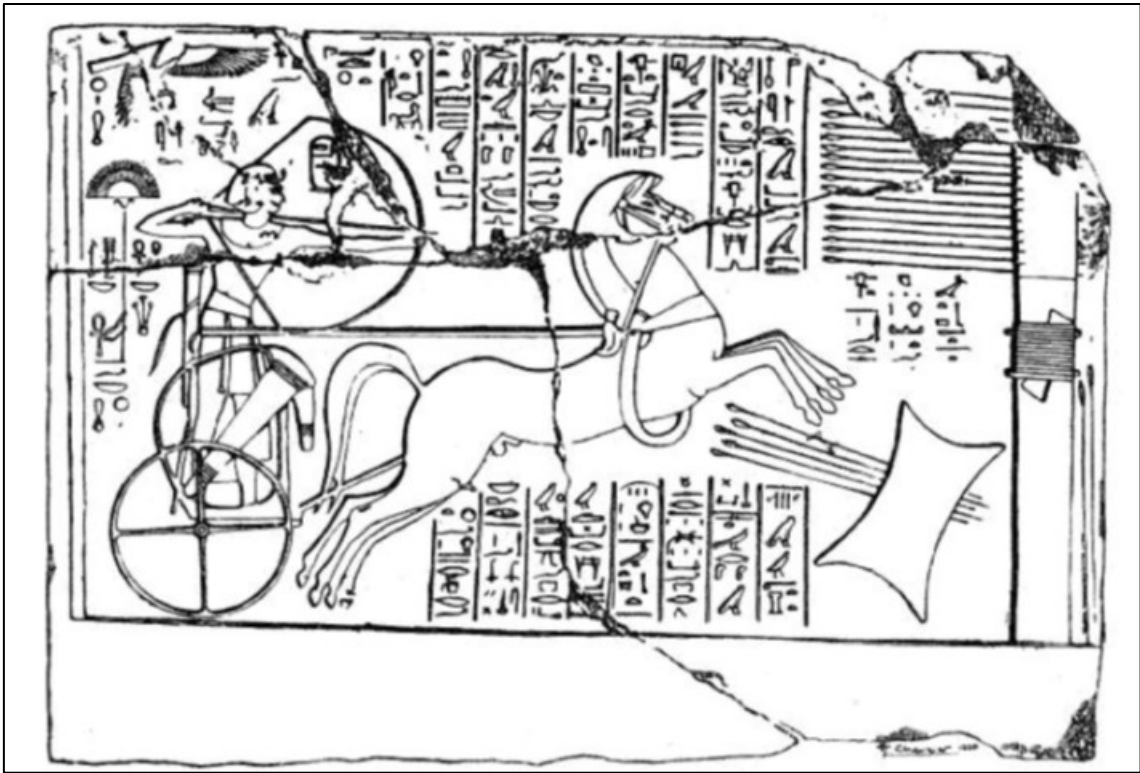


Fig. I

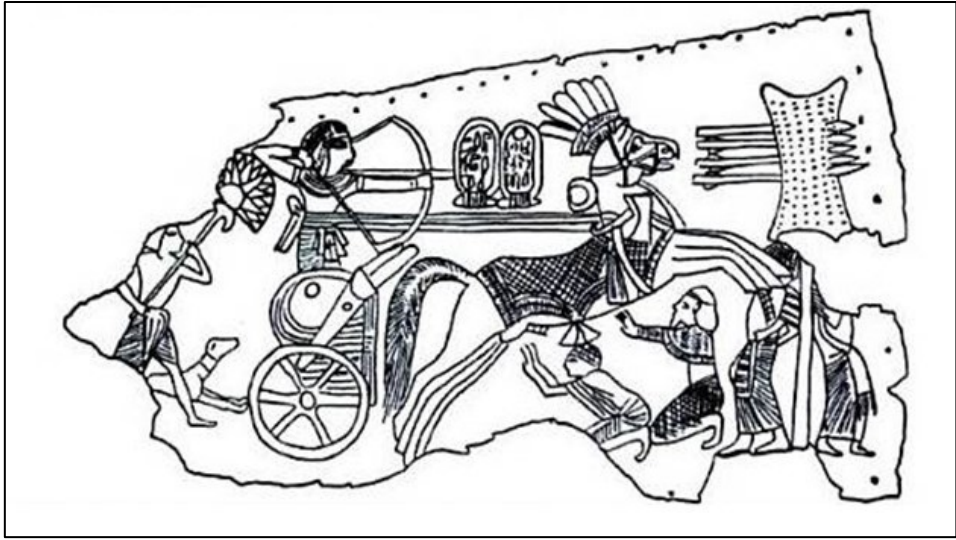


FIG. II



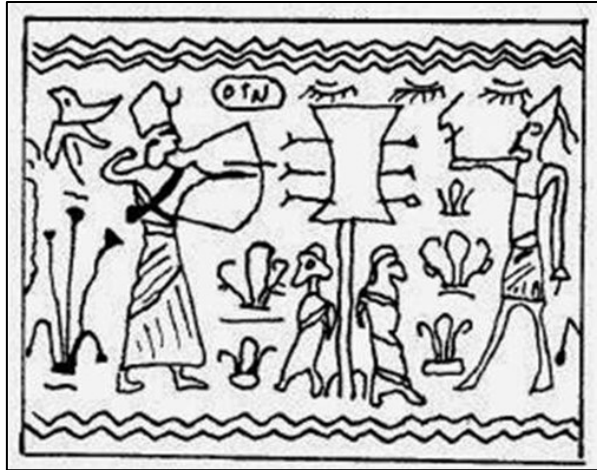


FIG. III



FIG. IV

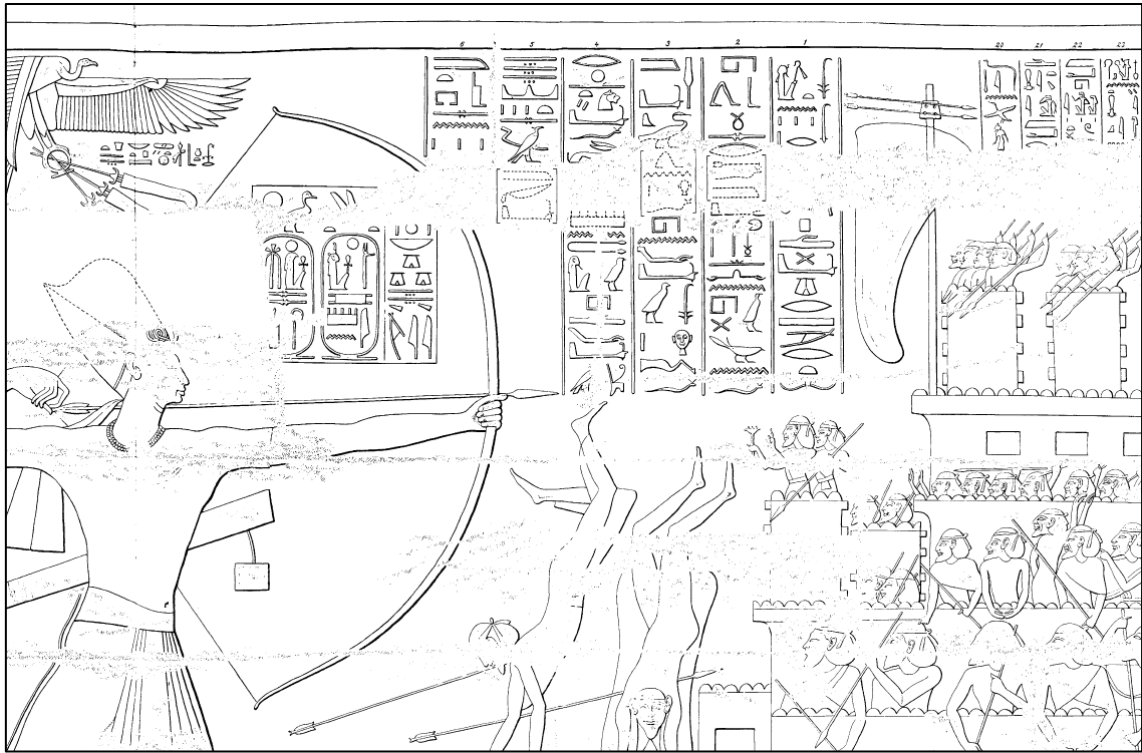
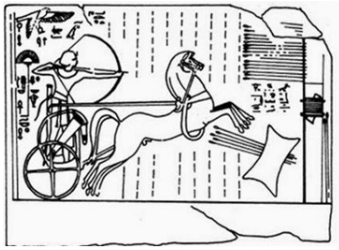
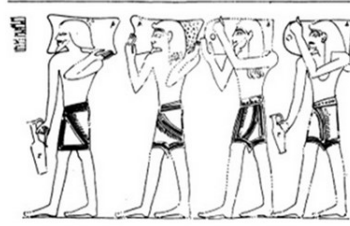


Fig. V

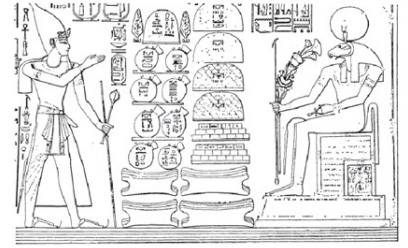




(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig. VII

## Bibliography

Bass, G.F., Throckmorton, P., Taylor, J.D.P., Hennessy, J.B., Shulman, A.R. and Buckholz, H.-G. "Cape Gelidonya: A bronze age shipwreck," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series* 57 (1967): 1-177.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (novembre 1926 – mai 1927)," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 27 (1928) 134-153.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1927-1928)," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 28 (1929) 114-128.

Cornelius, S. "Ancient Egypt and The Other," *Scriptura* 104 (2010): 322-340.

Desroches-Noblecourt, Ch. "Un petit monument commémoratif du roi athlète," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 7 (1950) 37-46.

Erman, A. *Life in ancient Egypt*, London: MacMillan and Co., 1894.

Gale, N.H. and Stos-Gale, Z.A. "Bronze Age copper sources in the Mediterranean: a new approach," *Science* 216 (1982): 11-19.

Galili, E., Gale, N. and Rosen, B. "A Late Bronze Age Shipwreck with a Metal Cargo from Hishuley Carmel, Israel," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 42 (2013): 2-23.

Graziadio, G. "The oxhide ingots production in the Eastern Mediterranean," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 37 (2014): 5-25.

Hallmann, S. *Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament*, vol. 66  
Wiesbaden Harrasowitz Verlag, 2006.

Liverani, M. *Prestige and interest: international relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100  
B.C.* Padova, Sargon 1990.

Manniche, L. "The so-called scenes of daily life in the private tombs of the eighteenth  
dynasty: an overview." In *The Theban Necropolis: past present and future*, eds. N.  
Strudwick and J.H. Taylor, 42-45. London, The British Museum Press, 2003.

Merrillees, R.S. "Egypt and the Aegean." In *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second  
Millennium. Proceedings of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium. Cincinnati, USA*, eds. E.H.  
Cline and D. Harris-Cline, 149-158. Liège: Aegaeum, 1998.

Mussell, M.-L. "The cylinder seals of Late Bronze Age Palestine as indicators of Hurrian  
influence," *Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)*, paper 1598 (1983).

Panagiotopoulos, D. "Keftiu in Context: Theban Tomb Paintings as a Historical Source."  
*Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 20 (2001) 263-283.

Papasavvas, G. "The iconography of oxhide ingots." In *Oxhide ingots in the Central  
Mediterranean*, eds. F. Lo Schiavo, J.D. Muhly, R. Maddin and A. Giunlia-Mair (eds),  
83-132. Roma; CNR, 2009.

Pusch, E.B. "High temperature industries in the Late Bronze Age capital of Piramesse  
(Qantir): II. A quasi-industrial bronze factory installations, tools and artifacts." In  
*Proceedings of the First International Conference on Egyptian Mining and Metallurgy  
and Conservation of Metallic Artifacts*, F.A. Esmael ed., 121-132. Cairo: Supreme  
Council of Antiquities, 1995).

Redford, D.B. *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Rehak, P. "Aegean natives in the Theban tomb paintings: The Keftiu revisited." In *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium. Proceedings of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium. Cincinnati, USA*, eds. E.H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline, 39-51. Liège: Aegaeum, 1998.

Sabbahy, L. "Depictional study of chariot use in New Kingdom Egypt." In *Chasing chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference (Cairo 2012)*, eds. A.J. Veldmeijer and S. Ikram, 191-202. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013.

Sacco, A. "Art and imperial ideology: remarks on the depiction of royal chariots on wall reliefs in New-Kingdom Egypt and the neo-Assyrian empire." In *Chasing chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference (Cairo 2012)* eds. A.J. Veldmeijer and S. Ikram, 203-215. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013.

Śliwa, J. "Some Remarks concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art." *Forschungen und Berichte* 16 (1974): 97-117.

Spalinger, A. "Egyptian New Kingdom triumphs: a first blush." In *Culture and history of the ancient Near East. Volume 63: Rituals of triumph in the Mediterranean world*, eds. A. Spalinger and J. Armstrong, 95-112. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013.

Stos, Z.A. "Across the wine dark seas... sailor tinkers and royal cargoes in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean." In *From mine to microscope. Advances in the study of ancient technology*, eds. I. Freestone, Th. Rehren and A.J. Shortland, 163-180. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009.



Stos-Gale, Z.A. "Isotope archaeology: reading the past in metals, minerals, and bone," *Endeavour* 16 (1992): 85.

Stos-Gale, Z.A., Maliotis, G., Gale N.H. and Annetts, N. "Lead isotope characteristics of the Cyprus copper ore deposits applied to provenance studies of copper oxide ingots," *Archaeometry* 39 (1997): 83-123.

Swan Hall, E. *The pharaoh smites his enemies: a comparative study*. Münchner ägyptologische Studien 44. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1986.

The Epigraphic Survey, *Later historical records of Ramses III. Medinet Habu – Volume II*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. 1932.

The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple Proper. Medinet Habu – Volume V*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. 1957.

Tildesley, J. *Egyptian games and sports*. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 2007.

Van de Walle, B. "Les rois sportifs de l'ancienne Égypte," *Chronique d'Égypte* 26 (1938) 234-258.

Vandersleyen, C. "Keftiou = Crete? Objections préliminaires." *Göttinger Miszellen* 188 (2002) 109-112.

Vandersleyen, C. "Keftiu: A Cautionary Note." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22 (2003) 209-212.

Varille, A. "La grande stèle d'Aménophis II à Giza," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 41 (1942) 31-38.

Vercoutter, J. *Essai sur les relations entre Egyptiens et Prehellenes*. Paris : Librairie à  
Maisonneuve, 1954.

Wachsmann, S. *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 20. Leuven:  
Peeters, 1987

Wilkinson, T. *The rise and fall of ancient Egypt*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010.

### **Figure captions.**

FIG. I. The Amenhotep II stela at Karnak Temple (Luxor Museum, J. 129). Drawing after Chevrier, 1929.

FIG. II. King Ay shooting arrows at an ox-hide ingot (Cairo Museum, JE 57438).

FIG. III. The Beith Shean seal showing Ramses II shooting arrows at a target (after Mussell, 1983).

FIG. IV. The siege of Dapur at the Ramesseum (after Erman, 1894).

FIG. V. Conquest of a fortress in Amor by Ramses III (Medinet Habu, first court, south wall) (The Epigraphic Survey, 1932).

Fig. VI. Ramses III making offerings to Amun-Re as Thoth keeps record. Treasury of the Medinet Habu temple (The Epigraphic Survey, 1957).

FIG. VII. Defeat, orderly arrangement and offering of ingots. (a) Amenhotep II stela (Luxor Museum); (b) bearers in Amenemopet tomb, TT276 (after Bass, 1967); (c) Offerings of Ramses III to Amun-Ra (Medinet Habu) (The Epigraphic Survey, 1957).